

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
1132 same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

222 Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the
231 Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351 in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273 them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262 of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533 musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
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484 But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

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1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

/203 cont. /

193 constituent parts of the word are easily separated. Such languages are known among some scholars as agglutinative, and among others as uninflected, formless, etc. Since Ural-Altaic peoples speak them, they are most often called Ural-Altaic languages. Under the influence of Islam and of their neighbors (Russians, Mongols, and others), one notices /204/ an admixture of foreign words in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language from Arabic, Mongol, Russian, and especially Tatar, and several other languages.

538 The folklore is quite rich, although it is also monotonous. It is expressed primarily in works of lyric and epic content. The former come down to a description of love and the experiencing of various feelings and situations by the lovers. Much space is given to comparisons of the internal and external qualities of the hero and heroine. The epic works contain descriptions of the former life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the deeds and great feasts "across the whole steppe" of eminent heroes and rich khans -- Ablai, Naurzbai, and others. Of these, the poem "Kurpech (Kuzu) and Bayan (Solu)" deserves the greatest attention. This is an ancient work, evidently not by one author but by a group. Although it has an uncomplicated plot (Kurpech loves Bayan and on the advice of his father thinks of marrying her, but another suitor, Tologoi, appears and kills Kurpech, and Bayan then kills Tologoi and herself), this work is of great interest for its artistic description of nature and especially of the everyday life and manners of its time. From this point of view it has no equal among other Kirghiz /Kazak/ works. Its popularity among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is great. Many place names are associated with the names of its heroes -- mountains, rivers, landmarks, and others (where the events described took place). The grave of Kurpech has been preserved until now (not far from Sergiopol).

538 In addition there is a whole series of songs of everyday
533 life associated with various rituals and events of life -- weddings, funerals, etc. The works of the well-known folk poet Nogoibai and his followers should be named as compositions of the most

/204 cont. /

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
 533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of
 the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same
 time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the
 persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich).
 One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of
 Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing
 rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
 538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally,
 one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a
 representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry.
 He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and
 poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
 538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
 197 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be
 most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
 [533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the
 "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung,
 of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz
 /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like
 the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted
 orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny"
 and "olengchi" (like the psalter and kobza players of old Rus').
 The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new
 ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming,"
 paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme
 and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
 533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the
 Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most im-
 portant moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems
 musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the
 originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members.

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme.

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case

¹Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

[602] Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

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KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

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565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.

[619] These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society,

554 the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

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648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

[668] The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing [638] the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Viatkin, Bekmakhanov, Shoinbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led [668] a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . . , as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.¹

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.²

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

¹Prouda, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; Voprosy Isstorii, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
²Korbo and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

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Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country.²

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs.

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This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

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Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of contact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bays' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."¹ Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

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The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

"For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."²

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In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

¹Personal communication.
²Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

214 other languages (chiefly Russian) increased by five times the 1937 figure. The same change in the relative numbers of native-language and Russian-language titles occurred in Uzbekistan, although not to such an extreme degree.¹

Table 15

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR AND SELECTED REPUBLICS,
1937 AND 1947^a

Area	1937	1947
USSR	674,000,000	541,000,000
RSFSR	549,000,000	439,000,000
UzSSR	11,600,000	6,800,000
KSSR	5,300,000	6,400,000

^aCompiled from Tables 3 and 4 of the standard volume, *The Soviet Press in Figures* (Sovetskaya pechat' v tsifrakh).

Table 16

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN KSSR AND UZSSR
BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION

Year	Kazakhstan		Uzbekistan	
	Kazakh Language	Other Languages	Uzbek Language	Other Languages
1937 ^a	4,700,000	600,000	9,900,000	1,700,000
1938 ^b	6,200,000	1,400,000	ND	ND
1947 ^a	3,400,000	3,000,000	4,700,000	2,100,000

^aFigures from Tables 4 and 5 of *Sovetskaya pechat' v tsifrakh*.

^bFigures from *Tsifry o pechat' SSSR*.

ND: No data available.

538 The literary production of Kazakhstan in 1937 was given as 322 titles, of which 182 were original works and 140 were translations. (The parallel figures for Uzbekistan were 498 titles, 310 originals and 188 translations.)¹ It may be assumed that again most titles fell into the belles-lettres category. In some Soviet statistics this category is further subdivided into prose, drama, and poetry. No detailed data are available for the postwar period, but in 1937 Kazakh literary production was similar in respect to these subcategories to the total USSR "non-Russian language" production.

¹These data lend themselves to a dual interpretation. One might say that although the native population had probably grown in size and certainly in relative literacy in those 10 years, it was being given less reading material than before the war. The Kazakhs could not turn to any books published in their language elsewhere in the USSR, since such production (if any) would be negligible. On the other hand, the 1947 ratio of native to nonnative publications corresponds more closely to the actual ethnic composition of the population.

²Table 6 in *Sovetskaya pechat' v tsifrakh*.

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Of the belles-lettres publications in the USSR during the 1938-1947 decade, 16,400,000 titles were in the Russian language and 9,000,000 titles were in non-Russian languages. Prose works constituted almost 60 per cent of the Russian titles, only 36 per cent of the non-Russian. Corresponding figures for drama were 11 per cent and 8 per cent, for poetry 23 per cent and 46 per cent, and for other works 7 and 10 per cent, respectively.¹

Almost half of the belles-lettres publications in the minority languages were poetry; the corresponding proportion of the Russian works was less than a fourth. The popularity among these people of poetry as an art form, and the significance of this finding for psychological warfare against Soviet minorities, seem fairly evident.

Radio

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Despite the claims of Party leaders, many people within the Soviet Union read very poorly. In a target audience where such is the case, the spoken word is a more effective means of communication. The standard medium of mass communication by the less-demanding spoken word is radio.

To the American observer it may seem that radio in the USSR plays but a minor role in comparison to the position this medium has achieved in the United States. Such a situation is certainly not due to official Soviet policy. The Russians are keenly aware of their need for more widespread utilization of the radio; this need is reflected in the Soviet term *radiofikatsiia* ("radiofication").

Organizationally, the Soviet radio system differs from the networks found in the United States or from the internal operation of the BBC in Great Britain in two major ways: (1) the extensive use of short waves in internal broadcasting (from roughly 75 meters or 40 KC down) and (2) the networks of wired speakers.

Short-wave broadcasting in local and relatively short-range traffic is popular in Latin America. If one may judge from the specifications of new Soviet receivers (published regularly in the periodical *Radio*), the short-wave bands will play an even larger role in the Soviet Union in the future. Some indication of the relative importance of such broadcasts for the Kazakh SSR may be inferred from the distribution of transmitters. The CIA list of "Broadcasting Stations of the World" shows as of September 1952 a total of 12 transmitters operating in the KSSR, of which 10 are in the short-wave bands.²

A more strikingly Soviet phenomenon is the radio-diffusion exchange, *radio-translatsionnii uzel*,³ with its wired speakers, *radiotochki*. These speakers are found in homes of subscribers as well as in public places

¹Table 33 in *Sovetskii pechat' v taifakh*, 1948.

²Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Standards for Radio Receivers," *Radio*, 1951, No. 9, pp. 11-13.

³The other two transmitters operated out of Alma-Ata (1103 meters, 10 kw) and Karaganda (412 meters, 20 kw). Eight of the short wave transmitters were based at Alma-Ata, the others at Guryev and Taldy-Korgau.

⁴Also called *radiozel* or *translatsionnii uzel*.

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also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces. The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

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This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

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In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet shane Iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

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expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.¹ In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs.

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.² The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture.

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."³ Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form.

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

¹Kazakhstanskie Prosvet, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.

²Ibid., 3 Sep 52.

³Auezov (4), 1951.

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form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.¹ And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."²

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.³ But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.⁴

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During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.⁵

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Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

¹Malisovskii, 1949, p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 41.

³Ibid., p. 48.

⁴Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 6 Sep 52.

⁵Ibid., 23 Oct 52.